

Message Text

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NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 DHA-02
OMB-01 ACDA-10 EB-07 TRSE-00 /141 W
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3644

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1554

PASS: AMBASSADOR YOUNG, TOM OFFENBURGER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, (YOUNG, ANDREW)

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S TRIP

1. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING IS MAY 17 MEDIA REACTION REPORT ON
AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S AFRICAN TRIP. END SUMMARY.

2. IN LEAD EDITORIAL, "A NEW STRATEGY FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA,"
NYTIMES STATES THAT THE NEW "SIGNIFICANT CHANGE..., WHICH HAS
BEEN CONSPICUOUSLY COORDINATED," IN AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD
SOUTHERN AFRICA "RECEIVES ITS FIRST FORMAL DISPLAY THIS WEEK"
WHEN AMBASSADOR YOUNG LEADS THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE UN
MAPUTO CONFERENCE. ONLY AFTER THE "SHOCK OF ANGOLA'S INTER-
NATIONALIZED CIVIL WAR" DID KISSINGER SERIOUSLY THINK ABOUT AFRICA
BUT, THE TIMES CONTINUES, THE POLICY HE EVOLVED OF "SEEKING MR.
VORSTER'S COOPERATION" IN BRINGING ABOUT "NEGOTIATED TRANSFERS
OF POLITICAL POWER" IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA FAILED BECAUSE
"KISSINGER LACKED CREDIBILITY WHERE IT COUNTED." WHILE THE
AMERICAN PUBLIC "WAS GIVEN THE IMPRESSION OUR DIPLOMATIC
...COOPERATION WITH MR. VORSTER WAS CONDITIONED ON
SUCH COOPERATION, HE... CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT AMERI-
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CAN SUPPORT WOULD NEVER BE WITHDRAWN UNDER ANY CIRCUM-
STANCES." THE NEW POLICY OBJECTIVES, STATES THE TIMES,
INCLUDE THE OLD ONES OF VORSTER'S COOPERATION ON RHODE-
SIA AND NAMIBIA, AS WELL AS "ALLEVIATING RACIAL INJUSTICE
IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF." THE NEW POLICY DOES NOT INCLUDE
"DEMANDS FOR IMMEDIATE PROGRESS TOWARD BLACK MAJORITY
RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA," NOR DOES IT "PROMISE SUPPORT FOR

ARMED INSURRECTION OR MILITARY INTERVENTION ANYWHERE IN THE REGION. THE POLICY'S SUCCESS DEPENDS "ON THE MISTAKABLE THREAT" THAT WE "MEAN TO USE OUR DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY LEVERAGE." WHILE SUPPORTING CONTINUED NORMAL DIPLOMATIC AND TRADE LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, THE TIMES STATES THE U.S. SHOULD BARTER ITS SPECIAL RELATIONS -- "USE OF AMERICAN UN VETO IN SOUTH AFRICA'S BEHALF" AND "PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA OF U.S. MILITARY ATTACHES SYMBOLIZING A DEFENSE COMMITMENT" -- FOR CONCRETE CONCESSIONS INCLUDING: "WHOLEHEARTED SOUTH AFRICAN PRESSURE ON RHODESIA; MODIFICATIONS IN NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE PLAN TO ALLOW NATIONWIDE POLITICAL PARTIES AND A UNITARY ELECTORATE; DISMANTLING OF AT LEAST THOSE ASPECTS OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM...THAT REQUIRE FORCED MIGRATION AND DENY BLACKS THEIR CITIZENSHIP." THE TIMES WARNS OF THE "CATASTROPHE OF RACIAL WAR" IF THE "PURSUIT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE" IN SOUTHERN AFRICA FAILS AND URGES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION TO CONVEY THE "URGENCY AND THE SUBTLETIES" OF THE SITUATION TO MR. VORSTER.

3.USUN'S EDITORIAL ON "ONE U.S. POLICY FOR SOUTH AFRICA" STATES "GREAT SENSITIVITY" IF REQUIRED BY MONDALE AND YOUNG IN HANDLING THEIR SEPARATE MISSIONS. THE "HINT OF IMPRESSION" THAT THERE ARE TWO U.S. POLICIES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA - "ONE REFLECTING THE ATTITUDE OF WHITE AMERICANS AND THE OTHER OF BLACK AMERICANS" -- WOULD HAVE A SERIOUS IMPACT. AN EFFECTIVE U.S. ROLE DEPENDS ON ONE POLICY "ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH RACES BECAUSE IT IS IN KEEPING WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS ASPIRATIONS" OF PRESIDENT CARTER. AS A WHITE AMERICAN, MONDALE IN HIS UNCLASSIFIED

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TALKS WITH VORSTER SHOULD FORCEFULLY UNDERSCORE THAT THE U.S. "SEEKS THE DISMANTLING OF AN OPPRESSIVE, RACIST FORM OF GOVERNMENT" THAT DENIES BASIC RIGHTS TO BLACKS. AS A BLACK AMERICAN, YOUNG, DURING HIS TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA, MUST STRESS THAT THE U.S. IS "NOT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES, AS A GROUP, BUT ONLY AGAINST... APARTHEID." YOUNG SHOULD SHOW "COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING FOR THE TRIBULATIONS" THE WHITES WILL UNDERGO AS CHANGE IS FORCED ON THEM. CONCEDED THE PROBABLE INEVITABILITY OF CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND U.S. INVOLVEMENT, THE SUN CONTENTS THAT "MILITANCY" BY MONDALE AND "MODERATION" BY YOUNG WOULD HELP CHECK THE DANGER OF THE CONFLICT BECOMING "RACIAL DIVISIVE" IN THE U.S.

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PASS: AMBASSADOR YOUNG, TOM OFFENBURGER

4. SCHMEMANN (AP) REPORTS OUT OF MAPUTO THAT YOUNG HAS SAID THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS 'TRYING VERY DESPERATELY' TO RESPOND TO THE GREAT EXPECTATIONS OF BLACK AFRICANS AND THAT THE INTERESTS OF AFRICA AND THE U.S. IN WHITE-RULED SOUTHERN AFRICA 'ARE NOT IN CONFLICT.' SCHMEMANN FURTHER QUOTES YOUNG AS SAYING: 'WE'LL ALL PROFIT BY MAJORITY RULE AS SOON AS THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION MOVES INTO THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.'

5. GARRICK UTTLEY'S REPORT ON NBC TODAY SHOW STATES THAT YOUNG "ILL BE TELLING BLACK NATIONALISTS LEADERS THAT THE U.S. SUPPORTS THEIR STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER" IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT THAT AMERICAN GOVERNMENT "IS NOT ABOUT TO GIVE THEM GUNS AND AMMUNITION FOR THEIR WARS." REFERRING TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S DELIBERATIONS TO FORMULATE A NEW POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, UTTLEY STATES THAT "SO FAR, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS SHOWN NO SIGN THAT IT IS PREPARED TO APPLY THE NEEDED POLITICAL AND, ABOVE ALL, ECONOMIC PRESSURE" WHICH MIGHT FORCE SOUTH AFRICA TO GIVE BLACKS A LARGER POLITICAL VOICE.

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6. DANIEL SOUTHERLAND WRITES IN THE CSMONITOR THAT THE NEW EMERGING AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA CAN BE CHARACTERIZED BY "NO MORE ANGOLA-STYLE INTERVENTIONS" AND GETTING TOUGH WITH SOUTH AFRICA, BUT THAT IT IS "MURKY WITH REGARD TO SPECIFICS." WHILE NOT "ABANDONING ALL

CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA," THE NEW POLICY "DOES NOT VIEW EVERY AFRICAN CRISIS IN TERMS OF U.S.-SO-VIET CONFRONTATION," WRITES SOUTHERLAND, AND EVEN "WHERE SOVIETS AND CUBANS HAVE A STRONG INFLUENCE, THE U.S. SEES A PLACE FOR ITSELF." THE NEW POLICY INVOLVES A "WILLINGNESS TO LET OTHER POWERS - SUCH AS FRANCE AND SAUDI ARABIA - PLAY AN INTERVENTIONIST ROLE ON BEHALF OF THE NONCOMMUNIST NATIONS." ACCORDING TO SOUTHERLAND, IN SOUTHERN AFRICA "MODIFICATIONS IN U.S. POLICY INVOLVE MORE A CHANGE IN RHETORIC THAN IN ACTION SO FAR." HOWEVER, THE U.S. IS ADOPTING A TOUGHER LINE TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL PRACTICES, WHILE THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION GAVE THE SAG THE IMPRESSION THAT IF IT HELPED IN ACHIEVING SOLUTIONS TO THE RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA PROBLEMS, THE "U.S. WOULD NOT CONCERN ITSELF WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY OF APARTHEID." THE REAL PROBLEM WILL BE TRANSLATING THIS TOUGHER POLICY INTO EFFECTIVE ACTION CONCLUDES SOUTHERLAND.

7. UPI DISPATCH OUT OF WASHINGTON SAYS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER IN ACCEPTING THE CREDENTIALS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW AMBASSADOR, DONALD BELL SOLE, SAID THAT CHANCES OF ACHIEVING FAIR AND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE 'SLIM' WITHOUT CONTINUING EFFORTS ON ALL SIDES. NOTING THAT THE U.S. HAS BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT ON ISSUES OF 'MUTUAL CONCERN,' THE PRESIDENT SAID: 'THESE ISSUES, WHICH CENTER ON THE QUESTION OF HUMAN DIGNITY, CRY OUT EVER MORE URGENTLY TO BE SETTLED. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR OWN EXPERIENCE IN RACE RELATIONS ENABLES US TO BRING COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING TO THIS SITUATION.' CARTER SAID THAT 'AN EQUITABLE RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUES UNCLASSIFIED

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IS BOTH POSSIBLE AND URGENT,' AND IF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS ARE NOT FORTHCOMING THE 'REGION WILL FACE VERY UNCERTAIN PROSPECTS.'

8. UPI DISPATCH FROM MAPUTO ON THE YOUNG/MACHEL MEETING REPORTS THAT THE LATTER "GOOD NATUREDLY LECTURED" YOUNG ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND THAT THE TWO MEN "APPEARED TO GET ALONG FAMOUSLY DESPITE MOZAMBIQUE'S CONTINUED WARINESS OVER WASHINGTON'S AFRICAN POLICY." UPI THEN QUOTES YOUNG AS RESPONDING TO MACHEL: 'THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE A CHOICE. IT IS VERY CLEAR THAT MAJORITY RULE AND FREEDOM FOR ALL PEOPLE IS SOMETHING PRESIDENT CARTER IS COMMITTED TO...I THINK THE WORLD DOES NOT YET APPRECIATE HOW MUCH DIFFERENT THE UNITED STATES CAN BE, NOT ONLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT ALSO THE MIDDLE EAST AND VIETNAM. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS DECIDED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.'

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